ARAB AND SWAHILI DANCES AND CEREMONIES.

By R. Skene.

The Razha Dance.

535 171 702 562 The Razha was originally a war dance practised by the Arabs in Arabia prior to starting out on a raid. It originated at Manga in Muscat, and is danced with naked swords, the object being to get the muscles of the sword arm into training. The Hatharmut or Hadramaut Arabs also dance it, but use daggers instead of swords.

The dancers, who of course are all men, stand in two rows facing each other, or in one row. They advance slowly a few inches at each step, keeping time to the drumming. The sword is held perpendicularly in the right hand, the fore-arm being at a right angle with the body. While holding the hilt of the sword in a perfect balance between the thumb and the first and second fingers, the base of the hilt is given a smart blow with the wrist so as to make the blade of the sword quiver. Being highly polished and made of fine supple steel, the quivering blade reflects the light in a most effective manner. This can only be done with the long straight double-edged sword of Southern Arabia and not with the scimitar-like blade used further north, owing to the thickness of the latter weapon.

535 534 The music for the Razha dance is supplied by a drum called a *chapuo*, cylindrical in shape, covered with goat skin on both ends. It is about eighteen inches long by eight in diameter, and is played on both ends with the hands, while hung across the waist of the drummer by a cord round the neck. A bass drum is also used, called a *vumi* of the same shape as the *chapuo*, but larger, being two to three feet long and fifteen inches in diameter. It is beaten in the same manner as the *chapuo*.

Anyone who knows how to dance can join in. No refreshments are served.

The Shebwani Dance.

535 562 585 This is danced by the Arabs of Mkelle or Makulla, without any weapons, and by men only, who attend by invitation. It usually takes place at a wedding festival, in which case food and coffee are served round, or at any other general rejoicing. The dancers stand in two lines facing each other about eight or ten paces apart. They bend the knee and bow the body slightly forward to each other in unison and in time to the beating of the drums. They also sing a chorus song and keep time by clapping their hands together.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

535 585 534 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* drum, both described above (see Razha dance). A treble drum called a *marwari* is also used. It is much smaller than the *vumi* and is only about eight inches long by eight inches in diameter. It is covered with goat skin on both ends and is beaten with the flat of the right hand while held in the left by a piece of cord. The drumming is accompanied by cymbals of brass called *vitasa*, which are placed on the ground one above another and struck with pieces of stick, one in each hand, so as to make the cymbals rattle together. In lieu of the cymbals, a metal rod is sometimes used bent into a triangle exactly the same shape as the triangles used in European military bands, and played in the same manner.

The Shebwani is sometimes danced in the afternoon but more often at night. It has no mystical meaning.

THE SHERHA DANCE.

535 585 562 This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs to celebrate a wedding or for any other cause of rejoicing. The dancers, who are all men, and who attend by invitation, stand round in a large circle some ten paces in diameter and sway the body slightly from side to side, while clapping their hands in time to the music. Presently two men come out of the ring and dance towards each other, and then backwards and forwards in a sort of "chassé croisé" for about ten minutes, and then they retire from the ring and are replaced by two others. Sometimes two couples dance in the ring at the same time.

535 585 534 The music is supplied by a wind instrument much resembling a clarionet or a French "musette," but the mouthpiece consists of two reeds instead of one, and the tone is very similar to that of the chanter of Scotch bag-pipes. This instrument is called a *zumari*, and supplies the tune accompanied by a *vumi* drum described above (see Razha dance) and by a *msondo* drum standing about four feet high with a diameter of about eighteen inches. It is cylindrical in shape and is covered by a goat-skin at the top end only, the bottom end being open. It is played with both hands in an upright position, resting on the ground.

No refreshments are served at a Sherha dance except if it is held to celebrate a wedding, in which case *pilaw* is served and coffee also.

KINANDA DANCE.

535 562 517 This dance partakes of the nature of a performance for the amusement of the onlookers and is held indoors. Two male performers hold a silk scarf or woollen shawl between them and repeatedly advance towards the audience and retire, while executing various steps and figures. They then face each other and dance in that position executing with their arms and bodies slow and graceful movements. Then they face the audience and advance and retire and so on till they become tired.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The musical instruments consist of the small *marwasi* drum described above (see Shebwani dance) and of a *kinanda* which supplies the tune. The latter is a string instrument of the nature of a guitar and is played in much the same way. It usually has seven strings, six of which used formerly to be made of sheep gut, but are now made of twisted silk. The seventh is the bass string and is made of copper wire.

Although not considered altogether reprehensible by austere Mohammedans, the "Kinanda" entertainment is looked upon as rather advanced, if not fast.

Sometimes the dancing is dispensed with and the entertainment is reduced to solo songs accompanied by the *kinanda*. It then assumes a more respectable character, though still not entirely approved of.

Being held indoors, the audience naturally come by invitation only. Refreshments consisting of coffee, sherbet and *halwa* (Turkish Delight) are handed round.

THE ZAMIL DANCE.

This is danced by the Hatharmut Arabs, and generally takes place either by day or by night, in front of the house of some exalted person to whom it is intended to pay compliment or to show respect. It is in fact a sort of serenade, but is also danced at weddings.

The dancers form up in one or more lines facing the house of the person in whose honour it is being held. The leader of the dance starts singing a solo, usually a song of praise to the person in question, and the remainder take up the chorus, which they accompany by rhythmic clapping of hands and swaying of the body. It is not by invitation, and anyone may join in. No drums or musical instruments are used and no refreshments partaken of, except at weddings. This dance has no mystical meaning.

THE CHAMA DANCE.

This may be called a faction dance owing to the element of competition which enters into it in regard to some other faction which has also organized a dance. It is danced by Swahili men, who dress up in their best clothes and wear Arab daggers and swords borrowed from those of their friends who have them. They do their best to make as fine and as big a show as possible in order to eclipse the dance of the other competing faction. Formerly the dance was accompanied by a feast, and still is in the Lamu District, where the factions vie with each other as to the number of cattle they can afford to kill. In 1912, one faction at the village of Mkunumbi (Witu Sultanate) was known to kill thirty head of cattle to cap the twenty-five head which another faction had killed a few days previously.[1] Needless to say that such waste is impossible in the Malindi District where cattle are scarce, and where the dancers only compete in matters of personal adornment and the number of followers. Faction feeling sometimes runs high, and if two competing dances happen to be taking place on the same night it is not unheard of for one party to attack the other with sticks.

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

535 171 The dance itself resembles the Arab Razha dance, the men standing in a row and jerking sticks in the same manner that the Arabs jerk their swords, one of which may sometimes be seen in the hand of a Swahili dancer of the Chama.

536 534 517 The orchestra consists of a *vumi* drum, a *chapuo* drum, a pair of cymbals or *vitasa*, a *zumari* or clarionet, all of which are described above (see Razha dance, Shebwani dance and Sherha dance), also a tambourine called a *tari* or *pari*. This is sometimes ornamented with loose brass discs that jingle together, as in the Spanish tambourine. The goat-skin is pegged to the wooden frame and is tightened by stuffing a more or less thick cord between the skin and the frame.

The Chama is usually danced in a public place and no invitation is necessary. Anyone may join in who feels so inclined. No refreshments are served nowadays in the Malindi District at a Chama dance, which has no mystical significance.

THE SHANGWI DANCE.

535 562 578 554 The dance is identical with the Chama and is danced by the winning faction in the Chama competition, which is judged by the "*wazee wa Ngoma*," or elders of the dance, men who are accustomed to take the lead in dances, in other words "masters of the ceremonies." The winning faction proceed to the house of the organizer of the opposition dance and dance the Shangwi in front of it. He is supposed to take this as a compliment, and passes round a scent bottle and sometimes takes part in the dancing himself. The Shangwi has no mystical significance and is usually danced at night with the same orchestra as for the Chama.

NGOMA YA FIMBO. (Walking-stick dance.)

535 585 852 562 The Ngoma Ya Fimbo is danced at Swahili wedding feasts, and at Swahili circumcision feasts. The dancers, all men, assemble by invitation and form a ring in the open near the house of the host, all carrying sticks, hence the name of the dance. While those in the ring balance themselves slowly and rhythmically from one foot to the other, two of their number go into the centre and make passes at each other with their sticks as if they were swords, in time to the drumming. After a few minutes of this, another pair go into the centre of the circle and perform in the same manner while the first two retire, and so on to the end of the dance, which usually takes place by day.

535 534 Cigarettes and betel nuts are passed round to the dancers. The music is supplied by *vumi* and *chapuo* drums described above (see Razha dance) by *vitasa* or cymbals (see Shebwani dance), and by a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance). In a temporary pavilion of palm-thatch erected close by, a number of young slave women generally stand holding buffalo horns in their left hands, which they strike with small sticks in time to the drumming.

This dance has no mystic significance and is merely a form of rejoicing.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

THE MWARIBE DANCE.

A dance for women only, which takes place indoors if danced by free women, and out of doors if the dancers are slaves. The women stand in a circle singing songs and clapping their hands in time to a triangle described above (see Shebwani dance). One dancer then advances, executing various fancy steps, towards another dancer in front of whom she stamps her foot and then retires, still executing fancy steps, to her place in the ring. The person in front of whom the first dancer stamped her foot then advances from her place in the ring in the same manner as the first dancer and stamps her foot in front of a third, who comes out in her turn, and so on.

The songs are led by one of the women, who sings the solo while the remainder join in the chorus. No drums are used.

This dance often takes place at wedding festivals when betel nut and cigarettes are handed round with tea. Then towards the end of the entertainment meat and rice are eaten. It may also be danced on the occasion of other rejoicings, the special time of year for having it being the first week of the North-east monsoon, that is, in November and December.

This Mwaribe dance has no mystic meaning.

THE MWASHA DANCE.

This is also a woman's dance and is of Bajuni origin, its introduction to the Malindi District from Witu having begun about four years ago. If the dancers are free women they dance indoors; if they are slaves the dance takes place in the open, but always by invitation.

The guests line up in two or three rows, one behind the other, and move forward slowly an inch or two at each step, while they jerk their chins forward and move their shoulders in time to the drums. When the front row gets up to the wall of the room, or to the limits of the dancing-floor, all the dancers face about and move slowly as before in the opposite direction, the front row becoming the back one.

If it takes place indoors, no men are allowed to be present except the orchestra, consisting of the performers on a *vumi* described above (see Razha dance) on a tari or tambourine (see Chama dance), and on a *zumari* or clarionet (see Sherha dance).

This dance, which has an undoubted touch of savagery about it, may perhaps be derived from the Somalis, and tends to work the dancers up into a nervous state. It is often danced in competition with another dance faction. No refreshments are served.

It has no mystic significance and appears to be indulged in when the general physical condition of the performers calls for a nervous outlet of some sort.

THE DANDARO DANCE.

535 567 562 This is rarely if ever danced by free men, and is considered essentially a slaves dance. In a convenient open space, men and women stand in a circle facing inwards, the drums being in the middle. The men stand together, occupying one part of the circle and the women the other. The dancers place the right hand on the left shoulder and the left hand under the right elbow, and in this position they bend the knees slightly and sway the body in time to the music while progressing very slowly sideways round the circle to the right. A *zumari* or clarionet described above (see Sherha dance) plays the tune to which the dancers sing the words of a song, or rather a chorus repeated over and over again at short intervals which are filled by the clarionet solo. The accompanying drums consist of a *vumi* and a *chapuo* (see Razha dance), also a *kurugo* drum, about two feet high and ten inches in diameter, with a goat-skin on one end only which is beaten with a stick, the drum resting on the ground in an upright position.

535 534

The Dandaro may be danced during the daytime as well as at night. Occasionally food may be cooked and partaken of towards the end of the dance. In the larger townships no invitation is necessary, and anybody may join in.

THE KI-NYASA DANCE.

535 171 567 562 As its name indicates, this dance is an importation from Nyasaland, introduced first to Zanzibar and then to the coast of the mainland by slaves captured in Nyasaland and brought here by the Arabs. Consequently it is a dance practised only by slaves and people of humble origin.

It is danced in the open either by day or by night. Men and women, arranged in no special order as to sex, form a circle standing one behind the other and go round in a direction opposite to the hands of a clock, moving in quick time but taking very short steps and bending the knee considerably at each step. The arms are held in the position of a person running, that is to say with the elbow bent and the forearm at right angles to the body, which is bent slightly forward. Some of the dancers jerk their shoulders up and down occasionally. The leader of the dance sings a solo and the others take up the chorus. The men wear a string of small iron bells known as *njuga* strung round their knees, and stamp their foot at each step so as to make them jingle.

535 534 782 One large drum is used, called a *msondo*, and fashioned somewhat after the drum of the Washambala. It is rather a high-toned drum in spite of its size, which is about six feet in length and twelve to fifteen inches in diameter. One end only is covered with goat-skin, struck with the player's hands. The open end of the drum rests on the ground while the drummer stands astride the other end which is supported by a cloth round his waist, and he plays it in that position. This dance has no mystical meaning, and is merely an expression of a superabundance of animal spirits which

are given vent to by singing and running round in a circle, in time to the beating of a drum, very much in the same manner as children do. No invitations are given, and anyone may join in. No refreshments are handed round.

THE MDEMA DANCE.

This also is an importation from Nyasaland (see Ki-Nyasa dance), and is danced by the slave population only, either by day or by night. It is exactly like the Ki-Nyasa dance described above, with the exception that no iron bells are strapped round the knees, and it is, if possible, of a simpler character, the Ki-Nyasa being in truth simple enough. Like the latter it is merely a vent for high animal spirits. No refreshments are given and no invitations are necessary.

THE KINDIMBA.

The Kindimba is not a dance, but a musical entertainment into which enters a slight element of the mystical. It is only given by people of the slave class in fulfilment of a vow. Any person who greatly desires something or some event to come to pass makes a vow to give a Kindimba if his wish is fulfilled.

Invitations are issued to his friends by the person who is giving the entertainment, and they assemble at his house. The men and women sit together either indoors if there is room, or else in the open. Songs are sung by a leader, the other guests joining in the chorus, and clapping their hands in time to the singing, which is accompanied by a small drum called a *mgumbaro*, very like a *marwasi* (see Shebwani dance), with this difference that only one end is covered with a goat skin, while in the *marwasi* both ends are covered. The other end, which is open, is made to rest on the chest or stomach of the player, who performs upon it in that position with both hands. Hard grains of maize are placed in dry gourds of various sizes, and these are rattled in time to the singing.

The entertainment partakes of the nature of thanksgiving, and frivolous songs are therefore avoided. Although not exactly of a religious character, a certain amount of superstition is far from being foreign to the Kindimba.

THE VUGO.

At a wedding, a procession of women is often formed in the evening after dark to parade the streets, and is called a Vugo. The women sing in chorus to the sound of buffalo horns beaten with short sticks. No men are allowed to take part in the procession, which is both an Arab and a Swahili custom.

THE KINYAGO DANCE.[1]

This is a Swahili medicine-dance usually held outside the town in a plantation on a moonless night. No artificial lights are allowed. Swahilis who have any

[1] [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 --ANALYST.]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

pretensions to being medicine-men inform their friends that a Kinyago is to be danced at a certain spot on a certain night, and a crowd consequently congregates there. The medicine-men, most of whom in Malindi District apart from Giryama are of Shambala slave origin, make themselves up with the help of clothes stuffed with grass to represent certain wild animals, such as elephants, lions, etc. A ring having been made in the waiting crowd, a medicine-man thus disguised as an animal suddenly dashes from behind a convenient bush and enters the ring, where he capers about and makes a noise in imitation of the beast he represents. On getting tired he retires again behind the convenient bush, and another disguised medicine-man takes his place in the ring and so on. A *msondo* drum is used, described above (see Ki-Nyasa dance). The crowd takes no part in the performance.

The Kinyago is, of course, a heathen dance from Nyasaland imported by slaves. It takes place usually after a good harvest, and is intended more or less as a thanksgiving to the spirits that control the rain and the abundance of food generally. It is also intended by the medicine-men to impress the people with the powers which they ascribe to themselves of being able to change the shape of their bodies into that of any wild animal. But these pretensions are not accorded much credence nowadays in the Malindi District.[1]

1 Ngoma ya Pepo.

The Swahili word *pepo* is the equivalent of the Arab word *jin*, or devil or evil spirit. The people inhabiting the coastal zone, both Arabs and Swahilis, believe in the existence of these beings, some of whom are considered harmless while others, entering into the human body, create various ills and pains, insensibility or sometimes a demented state accompanied by violent gestures. It is quite evident, even to a layman, that these ills are due to a disturbance of the nervous system of imaginative and highly-strung individuals. Thus one finds that the great majority of the people who get *pepo* are women.

The native cure for *pepo* is principally drumming. The natives of Africa are particularly sensitive to rhythm, pure and simple, even more so perhaps than Europeans. The rhythm of certain kinds of drumming has the effect of exciting the nerves to an ecstatic degree, while other rhythms appear to have the contrary effect upon the nervous system of Africans. It is the latter rhythms that are used as a cure for *pepo*.

This physiological effect of rhythmic drumming is, however, unknown to the nhabitants of the coastal zone, and believing as they do, that the nervous disturbance known as *pepo* is caused by the presence of evil spirits in the body, they set about propitiating the *jin* and putting him in a good temper by giving a drumming

[1] This reminds one of some of the corn dances recorded by Sir J. G. Frazer in *The Golden Bough*; and by Professor Ridgway in his *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 335–374.

1 [SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

12: Skene G.B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

entertainment in his honour, so as to induce him to depart from the body of the person possessed.

The exorcising of the *pepo* is conducted by a professional man or elderly woman known as a *fundi* or *mganga* who specializes in certain kinds of *pepo*.

The *pepo* themselves are divided into various tribes such as the *pepo ya ki-galla*, *pepo ya ki-arabu*, *pepo ya ki-somali*, *pepo ya ki-shakini*, *pepo ya i-pemba*, *pepo ya ki-nubi*, etc., and some even are said to be like animals, such as the *pepo ya ng'ombe* and the *pepo ya punda*. Besides belonging to various tribes, the *pepo* have individual names similar to those common to human beings of the same tribe. Thus some *pepo ya ki-galla* are known as Guyo, Barsa, Godana, Galgalo, all of which are fairly common amongst the Gallas on the Tana River.

The *pepo* is recognised by the language it speaks through the lips of the person possessed. The *fundis* make out that the language spoken is actually Galla, Somali, Arabic, etc., but that it is an ancient form of these languages, and that no one can understand them but the *fundis* themselves. This, of course, is nonsense, as it is impossible for a person ignorant of a language to speak it suddenly and quite fluently. What actually happens is that the person possessed speaks ordinary Swahili,[1] but being in a state of high nervous tension the voice assumes an unnatural pitch, and the words are spoken indistinctly and interlarded with inarticulate sounds, so that they may be said to assume, with a stretch of imagination, either an Arab, a Somali, or any other accent, and, together with the inarticulate sounds uttered, are interpreted by the "*fundi*" as being ancient Arabic or ancient Somali, or some other ancient language.[2]

Each *fundi* has his own special set of *pepo* whom he knows by name, and to him only will such *pepo* respond. If a *fundi* is called in to attend to a possessed person, and is unable to make the *pepo* speak to him through the lips of the patient, then he knows that the *pepo* in question is not one of his set, but is a client of some other *fundi*. He then withdraws from the case, and suggests to the relations of the patient that such or such *fundi* be called in.

The first step in the treatment of a possessed person is to get the *pepo* to "come into the head" of the patient and speak to the *fundi*, the object of this being to find out from the *pepo* what would be acceptable to him as an offering in order to induce him to depart from the body of the possessed person.

The method of making the *pepo* speak is by administering *dawa*, or native medicine. The various tribes of *pepo* respond each to its particular kind of *dawa*, which in most cases consists of a decoction of roots mixed with leaves of plants found in the bush, and sometimes fresh seaweed. Each *fundi* has, of course, his own secret prescription. The mixture of roots and leaves is placed in a

[1] This is not certain.—C. W. H.

[2] For possession by spirits of other tribes, see Junod. *Les Baronga*, pp. 440, 441.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

753 755 756 776 pot and made to boil. The patient is made to sit close up to the pot, or, if possible, over it, and is then entirely covered with a sheet in such a manner as to allow as little as possible of the vapour from the pot to escape. This is practically a Turkish bath, the effect on the patient being naturally a soothing one, and on leading questions being put to the patient by the *fundi*, the *pepo* will state through the mouth of the sick person who he is and how many days' drumming he would like in order to induce him to depart and leave the patient in peace. This method of applying native medicine is used to make the *pepo* of almost all the heathen tribes respond to the *fundi*, provided, of course, that the *fundi* is the right man for that particular *pepo*, and provided the right decoction of roots and leaves is used.

If the *fundi* called in has a suspicion that the *pepo* he has to deal with belongs to a Moslem tribe, such as Arab, Somali, or Nubi, he does not employ the Turkish bath method in order to induce him to speak, but makes a mixture of camphor, musk, and saffron, with a little water, and writes with it on a plate the various attributes of Allah. By means of a little more of the mixture, the writing is carefully washed off the plate into a cup, and is given to the patient to drink. The camphor has a soothing effect, and the *pepo* then states who he is and what he wants as a propitiation.

The *fundi*, having recognised the *pepo* as one of his set, now comes to an agreement with the relations of the sick person as to the amount of the fees to be given to him. These vary according to the financial position of the relations, but generally range from 5Rs. to 10Rs. Much higher fees are sometimes given, however, and the total expenses, including the cost of the food for the *fundi*, the drummers, and the guests have been known to amount to 300Rs. The *fundi's* fees are paid after he has succeeded in getting rid of the *pepo*.

The drumming and dancing invariably take place indoors, except on the last day when the patient is practically cured, and then the dancing goes on outside the house.

The various kinds of *pepo* believed to seize people in Malindi are :—

Pepo ya ki-galla
Pepo ya ki-sanya
Pepo ya ki-shakini
Pepo ya ki-rima
Pepo ya ki-nyika
Pepo ya ki-pemba
Pepo ya ki-habshi
Pepo ya ki-arabu
Pepo ya ki-somali
Pepo ya ki-nubi
Pepo ya Ng'ombe
Pepo ya Punda

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The names of the *fundis* now practising in Malindi are as follows :— 776 756

Mohamed bin Mhaji
Make Chocho
Habiba wa Jora
Biasha wa Ali
Shaibu wa Saburi
Fundi Ali
Fundi Matano
Said wa Famao
Hussein (a police constable)
Kiranja Mhaji
Mwalim Kai

When a *fundi* has recognised a *pepo* as one of his own, and when the bargain as to the fees to be paid has been made, he sends round to all the other *fundis* and invites them to witness his efforts to exorcise the *pepo*.

New clothes must be bought for the *pepo* in all cases, and they are worn by the patient in the manner of the tribe to which the *pepo* belongs.

The following are detailed descriptions of the procedure followed in exorcising the various kinds of *pepo* who are believed to seize people in Malindi :— 776 756 782 757 171

PEPO YA KI-GALLA.

On being called to see a sick person the *fundi* examines the patient and decides whether he is suffering from *pepo* or not. As a rule the decision is in the affirmative. He then orders a "*sadaka*" or sacrifice of food to be made. This varies according to circumstances of the patient and his relations, but it usually consists of boiled rice and goats' meat or fowl. The relations and friends of the sick person partake of this, as well as the *fundi* and his drummers. But before the meal begins, a *mwalim* or person versed in the prayers of the Koran is called in and the *fathiha—Illa hathrati el habibi Muhamad Nabbi al mustafa* is read over three times. Both prayers and feast take place just outside the house of the patient. But the women remain inside, and the food is taken in to them.

The *fundi* then goes and gets the native medicine necessary to make the *pepo* come into the head of the patient, and state what it wants as propitiation in order to induce it to leave the body of the patient. The medicine used consists of the leaves and small roots of certain trees to be found in the bush. The special kinds of trees used are professional secrets of the *fundis*, each of whom has his own prescription. Certain kinds of sea-weed gathered from coral rocks at low water are sometimes used, and these together with the roots and leaves are pounded together so as to form a paste which is mixed with water and placed in a pot to boil over a fire in the sick-room. The patient is then made to sit on a stool or native bed

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

776 756 782 757 171

over the pot, or as close as possible, and is entirely covered over with a sheet so as to receive all the vapour from the pot and the heat from the fire.

While this primitive method of giving a Turkish bath is being carried out, the *fundi* chants an appropriate song of praise to the *pepo*, and the women, if they know the song, join in and clap their hands in time to the tune. This ceremony takes place soon after sunrise, at mid-day, and in the evening from about 7 p.m. to 8.30 or 9 p.m., each session lasting about an hour to an hour and a half, more or less. After each session the *fundi* questions the *pepo* to ascertain what *pepo* he has to deal with and what propitiation it requires, but the *pepo* may refuse to speak at once, and the same ceremonial is repeated every day up to seven days. If by that time the *pepo* has not spoken, the *fundi* usually comes to the conclusion that the *pepo* in question is not one of his clientele, and he suggests that some other *fundi* be called in.

If, however, success is attained in making the *pepo* speak through the lips of the patient, which is very often the case owing to leading questions being asked by the *fundi*, and perhaps to a certain amount of mental ascendancy on his part, to which a hypnotic element may not be foreign, arrangements are then made to fulfil the desires of the *pepo*, which invariably take the form of an *ngoma* or dance repeated every day for seven days, with or without a *pepo* feast, and a male goat to be ridden by the *pepo* on the last day of the dance.

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Before the dancing begins, new clothes are bought for the *pepo*, and the patient puts them on. If the latter is a man, a white cloth is tied round his chest and hangs down to his feet and another white cloth is put over the head and shoulders in such a manner as to leave only the face visible, the head and neck being covered. A pair of white cotton trousers tight at the ankle are also worn. If the patient is a woman the same clothes are worn, but the first-mentioned cloth is tied round her waist, and not round the chest as in the case of the man.

Guests are invited, both men and women, but the majority of the dancers at an *ngoma ya pepo* are women. The latter are the only ones allowed to enter the sick room, except the *fundi* and his drummers, and one or two male guests by request of the relations of the patient. The *fundi* and his drummers may also sit in the *ukumbi*, or entrance to the house, according to the wishes of the relations.

The dancing begins at eight or nine o'clock in the morning and lasts for two or three hours, or until the patient, impelled by the *pepo*, lifts his hands as a sign of having had enough for the time being. A second session takes place the same day from about 6 p.m. till 9 p.m., and so on every day till the seventh day.

535 755 171

Pepo ya ki-galla generally begins to take part in the dancing on the third day of the dance. The patient, while still seated, begins to jerk his shoulders backwards and forwards and up and down, in time to the drumming. Then he gradually rises from his seat. A fly-switch, made from the tail of any wild animal which could be used for the purpose is placed in one hand, and a small calabash filled with leaves

(no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

supposed to have medicinal properties is placed in the other. A string of oval iron bells (*njuga*) with a pebble inside is tied just below his right knee, and he then shuffles forward alone, dragging his feet. He takes up his position between the two lines of dancers, one at each end of the room, and shuffles backwards and forwards between the two lines of dancers while waving the fly-switch and the calabash, and still jerking his shoulders as described above. The two lines of dancers move their shoulders in the same manner, but remain in the same place.

These proceedings are repeated twice a day, morning and evening, until the evening of the seventh day, when the session is prolonged through the night well on into the next day, sometimes even until mid-day.

During the last dance, the cloth over the head of the patient is allowed to drop on to his shoulders, and another white cloth is put on his head and is kept on by a cord being wound round the temples after the manner of the Beduins.

If the *pepo* has required the production of a goat amongst other things to be done for his propitiation, a male goat is now produced and brought to the door of the house. The patient comes out and strokes the goat, passing his right hand three times from its head along its back to its tail. He then gets astride of it and pretends to ride it like a horse, jumping up and down, and jerking his shoulders as before in time to the drumming.

If at any time the *pepo* calls for food, a small piece of bread is produced, on which is placed a speck of ambergris and musk, and it is then placed in the mouth of the patient, who eats it. A few raisins are also given, and a lump or two of sugar candy.

After the patient has got tired of riding the goat, the *fundi* asks the *pepo* in the presence of the assembled guests if he has received all he had asked for. The *pepo* says "yes." The *fundi* then asks him if he will ever seize the patient again, to which the *pepo* replies, "I will not seize him again," and thereupon he is considered to have taken his departure, and the patient goes to bed to sleep off his fatigue, and awakes later to find himself quite cured.

There are about fifty propitiatory songs for the *pepo ya ki-galla* known in Malindi.

The names of some of the *pepo ya ki-galla* who are believed to possess people in Malindi are as follows:—Guyo, Barsa, Godana, and Galgalo. All these are common Galla names.

The drums used are two *Vumi* drums, one *Chapuo* drum, and *Vitasa* cymbals, all described in the Shebwani dance.

PEPO YA KI-SANYE.

The ceremonies and medicines used to cast out a *pepo* of the Sanye tribe are exactly similar to those used in connection with a *pepo* of the Galla tribe. The only difference is that the *pepo* speaks the Sanye language through the medium

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

of the patient, and the propitiatory songs are also in the Sanye language, although Galla songs may also be sung effectively.

The names of the *pepo ya ki-sanye* who are believed to frequent Malindi are merely common Sanye names.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

PEPO YA KI-SHAKINI.

The people of Malindi do not know here where the Shakini country is. They tell one vaguely that it is *mbarani mbali sana*, that is somewhere in the distant interior of Africa. The Shakini language is said to be understood by the Zigula people. The *pepo ya ki-shakini* is thought to have been introduced to Malindi by slaves brought from the interior, but very little is known of its origin.

The ceremonies which take place at the casting out of a *pepo ya ki-shakini* are exactly the same as those of the *pepo ya ki-galla*; the roots and leaves which make up the ingredients of the medicine used to make the *pepo* speak are, however, different, but the medicine is applied in the same way, that is by means of a Turkish bath.

The clothes worn by the patient when the dancing begins are similar to those worn by a person possessed of a *pepo ya ki-galla*, only the clothes are made of a dark blue cotton (*kaniki*) instead of white cotton (*amerikani*). The trousers worn may be made of blue cotton cloth or red cotton cloth (*bendera*). On the last day of the dance the white cloth worn on the head of the patient suffering from *pepo ya ki-galla* is replaced by a red or blue cloth secured on the head in the same way, by a cord bound round the temples. Formerly, when colobus monkey skins were obtainable, the head-dress consisted of a conical hat made from these skins, about a foot to fifteen inches high, in the shape of a dunce's cap with a peak to it in front, and the monkey's handsome tail hanging down behind. A leather breast-plate and back-plate connected by straps that hang over the shoulders are also worn as an ornament, being profusely decorated with beads and kauri shells. This is called a *torosi* (a Ki-rima word), and is worn on the last day of the dance.

The dancers of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* form a circle, one behind the other, and move round and round with short jerky steps in a direction opposite to that of the hands of a clock, and stamp their feet in time to the drums. They move the upper part of the body by alternatively throwing the chest forward and the shoulders back and then the shoulders forward and the chest in. The patient dances along with the others, and waves a fly-switch made from the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The *pepo* of the Shakini tribe are believed to be very fond of tembo, and the patient is given frequent libations of this drink. But he cannot tolerate the smell of mutton, and all cooking of this meat must be done at a distance while the patient is possessed of this *jin*.

On the last day of the dance a male goat may be produced if the

[SEE NOTE ON P. 434 -- ANALYST.]

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

pepo so desires, and the same ceremony is gone through as for the *pepo ya ki-galla*. 171 776

The songs of praise of the *pepo ya ki-shakini* sung in Malindi amount to about twenty-five. 755 536 782

Some names of *pepos* of the Shakini tribe known here are, Shinga Kamba wa Goshi, Hotea, Shingwa Rambo wa Seraf, Giwa wa Mwenne Panganga Waso wa Jentangu.

The same drums and cymbals are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-RIMA.

The origin of these *pepo*, as their name indicates, is of course well known, but their introduction to the Malindi District dates only to nineteen years back. 171 776 535

The ceremonial followed is the same as that of the *pepo ya ki-galla*, and of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The head-dress is, however, different, and consists of what is called a *shumburere*, which is of exactly the same shape as a Mexican hat with a tall conical crown and a very wide brim. It is woven from the split fronds of the dom palm or the *mkindu* palm, the wild date. From the outer edge of the brim is suspended a fringe composed of strips of coloured cloth which hang down to the pit of the stomach in front, and to the same level at the back. The head and face of the patient are consequently completely hidden. 755 782

As in the Shakini *pepo* dance, the dancers follow each other round and round in a direction opposite to the hands of the clock, and perform the same steps and antics as in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. The patient also waves in the same manner a fly-switch made out of the tail of a mule or giraffe.

The patient is anointed with castor oil as soon as he shows signs by jerks and twitches that he is about to begin to dance.

The *torosi* breast-plate and back-plate of leather are also worn by the patient in this dance, and a male goat is produced if so required by the *pepo*, and is ridden and danced round in the same manner as described in the *pepo ya ki-galla*.

There are some forty songs known in Malindi sung in praise of the *pepo ya ki-rima*.

Some names of these *pepo* known here are, Lairan wa Laitua, Laitoni wa Laimoran, Lukwalla wa Lugawane. They remind one of Nandi or Masai names.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-NYIKA.

This is considered a benign form of *pepo* who does not cause the patient any great pain or ill, nothing more serious than a headache or a cough, which do not incapacitate the person possessed. 753 755 535 782

Native medicine is not usually given in order to make the spirit speak and say who he is and what he wants. He is generally recognised by the ache or pain he 776

753 755 535 782 776 causes to the patient, and he is not exacting in his requirements of propitiation. Generally two or three days' dancing will satisfy him together with a large supply of boiled mealie-meal served with grilled fowl or goat. Sometimes as a special treat some *kunde* beans are mixed with the meal. This is given as a farewell dinner to the *pepo* after the dancing is finished. All the guests partake of it as well as the patient.

The dancing begins about 9 a.m., and lasts about an hour and a half. The patient then goes about his work as usual. In the evening the dancers reassemble and dance through the night with the patient. A line is formed, and one dancer at a time advances to where the drums are being played, jerks his shoulders about while bending over one of the drums for a few minutes, then suddenly stamping his foot he retires with a shuffling step back to his place in the line and another dancer goes forward and repeats the performance, and so on. The patient dances with the others, but is distinguished by having a fly-switch in one hand and a live fowl in the other, both of which he waves about.

The patient is dressed in two new dark blue cotton cloths (*kaniki*), worn as a Swahili woman wears her *leso*. No head-dress is worn. On the second day of the dance, if the patient is a woman, she exchanges her two dark blue cloths for a kilt such as the Nyika women wear.

During the dancing, the patient goes occasionally to a pot of cold water in which leaves of wild trees believed to have certain properties have been pounded and mixed up. He puts both hands into the pot and raises some of the liquid to his mouth and drinks. Having quenched his thirst he throws some of the liquid over each shoulder on to his back, and also pours some on his chest as if he were taking a bath.

At the end of the dance on the third day a meal is partaken of as stated above and the *pepo* departs.

The names of *pepo ya ki-nyika* known in Malindi are without number, and are similar to ordinary names at present heard amongst the various Nyika tribes. The songs of praise sung in honour of these *pepo* in Malindi are also numberless.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-PEMBA.

171 776 755 As their name indicates, these "*pepo*" are supposed to come from the island of Pemba.

534 In order to make the *pepo* declare himself, the usual native medicine and Turkish bath are given. The patient is then dressed in two white cloths after the fashion of the *pepo ya ki-galla*. He is placed on a stool, and as soon as the drumming begins he sways his body about in time to it, and ultimately jerks the stool which he sits on round the room. A *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Shenha dance) is also played to the accompaniment of the drums. This jerking about on the stool goes on for seven days, and on the eighth day matting is laid on the floor. The

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

patient sits on the matting at one end, and proceeds to jerk himself forward to the other end. On reaching this he jerks backwards without turning round. This is a very laborious business and takes a good deal of effort.

On the eleventh day the patient assumes an upright position, and dances, standing up between two lines of dancers. He advances with short shuffling steps to the line of people in front of him. On getting within a couple of feet of them he begins to retire, shuffling backwards without turning round, and keeping his body bent forwards almost at a right angle with his lower limbs. He is followed by the line of dancers facing him, who dance the same shuffling step, and who keep within a couple of feet of him. On reaching the line of dancers behind him, he straightens his body and starts forward again, the line facing him then retiring and the line behind him following him. He waves a fly-switch in his hand, and a string of small oval iron bells, *njuga*, with pebbles inside, is tied round his right ankle.

No head-dress is worn by the patient, but a paste is made by pounding to a powder a certain scented wood called *udi*, and mixing it with water. This is applied all over the head. If no *udi* wood is available, the wood of the *muhuhu* is used. A black line about half an inch wide is also painted from the tip of the nose over the head to the back of the neck.

On the last day of the dance, fruits and delicacies in very small quantities are laid before the patient, who eats a little of each for the benefit of the *pepo*.

If the *pepo* demands it, and the financial position of the patient will allow of it, a white bull or a male goat is produced on the last day, and is ridden and danced round by the patient as described in the ceremonies which take place to expel a *pepo ya ki-galla*, after which the *pepo* departs from the sick person.

The names of some of the *pepo* known in Malindi are, Mwana Mashungi wa Ukulu, Kekecha wa Mawamba, Makata wa Mapinga, Maungua wa Maamba. A great many propitiatory songs are also known at Malindi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA KI-HABSHI.

The Abyssinian spirit is not believed to have seized anyone at Malindi yet, and very little is known about it here. It is, however, believed to have possessed people in Zanzibar and Kismayu.

PEPO YA KI-ARABU.

The ceremonies which are gone through to expel a *pepo* of this variety constitute a type which is followed with slight variations in exorcising almost all the *jins* believed to belong to Moslem tribes.

The fundamental difference between the method of treating heathen *pepo* and Moslem *pepo* consists in the substitution of strong perfumes for the Turkish bath method, in order to induce the *pepo* to declare himself.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

776 755 [782] The preliminaries are the same as those described in the *pepo ya ki-galla* up to the point where it becomes necessary to ascertain what the *pepo* requires as a bribe or propitiation to depart from the body of the person whose sickness he is believed to be causing.

In order to get this information from the *pepo*, a mixture is made of rose water, ambergris, musk, saffron and camphor. Using this as an ink, the *fundi* writes on a plate the name of Allah with His various attributes (the all-powerful, the all-merciful, etc.), also the names of some of the archangels. The writing being completed, it is carefully and reverently washed off the plate into a cup with a little more of the mixture above mentioned. The contents of the cup are then given to the invalid to drink, and incense is also burnt beside him. In a short time the *pepo* comes into the head of the patient and states who he is and what he wishes.

776 755 535 Arrangements are then made for a dance, and guests are invited in the usual way. New white cloths are put on the patient, who wears them in the same way as *lesos* are worn by Swahili women. A pair of trousers, tight at the ankle, is also worn.

The patient sits on a stool and gradually begins to sway his body in time to the drumming. Later on the swaying becomes more and more accentuated, till it develops into jerks of the body of sufficient violence to move the stool, on which the patient sits, all about the room. Ultimately he becomes sufficiently excited to stand up and dance with a sort of gliding step, backwards and forwards between two lines of dancers, who imitate his step and gestures. In each of his hands is placed a small white flag, on which is written the verse of the Koran *Ayat il kursi*. The flag in his left hand he holds over his left shoulder, and the one in his right hand he waves about. A *maharuma* or Beduin head-dress is secured on his head, but if none is available an ordinary white cap will do. On standing up to dance the patient must change his clothes. He discards his two white cloths, and if the *pepo* who possesses him has been ascertained to be a male he dons a white *kanzu* as worn by men. If the *pepo* is a female, then a short *kanzu* of some coloured material or, if possible, of silk such as the Arab women of Muscat wear, is put on by the patient.

If a male *pepo* seizes a man, or a female *pepo* a woman, there is believed to be little hope of the recovery of the patient, whose fate is practically sealed. If on the other hand a *pepo* of one sex seizes a human being of the opposite sex, then the recovery of the patient is assured.

The drumming is accompanied by songs in Arabic appropriate to the occasion, and usually in praise of the spirit.

755 782 At the end of the dance on the last day, a feast is given to the *pepo*, with delicacies consisting of small quantities of Turkish delight (*halua*), powdered white sugar, white lump sugar, moist sugar, sugar candy, almonds, raisins, milk, eggs, young coconuts (*dafu*), but of the pale coloured variety, rose scent, scented oil and European scents.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

If the patient can afford it, a white bull is produced and, dressed in his best turban with dagger and sword, the patient mounts it like a horse. It is then led round and round the dancing ring in the open, while he flourishes his sword and shows off generally. If the patient is a woman, the dagger and sword are dispensed with. 755 776

Some names of Arab *pepo* known in Malindi are, Maruhani bin Kaftan, Luranni bin Dervess, Rikh bin Zariha, Duban bin Dabran, Amir Ghaish bin Sudian, Jinwi bin Jinan, Hodeida binti Jabal Duhan, Sharua binti Haruta, Saida binti Saida, Saida binti Kisti, Zilzalla binti Harun bin Alwan.

The patriarch Noah is said to have had great ascendancy over Arab *pepo*, and each time his name is mentioned the *pepo* will give a start.

The *pepo ya ki-arabu* are the only *pepo* who appear to have sex distinction. All the other seem to be sexless.

Tari, or tambourines, described in the Chama dance, and a *vumi* drum, described in the Shebwani dance, are used.

PEPO YA KI-NUBI.

This *pepo* is unknown in Malindi, but used frequently to seize people in Takaungu, and does still occasionally. His introduction to that town took place at the time when Said Barghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, maintained a garrison there under Liwali Salim bin Hamis, father of the present titular chief of the Mazrui tribe, Rashid bin Salim. Some of the *askaris* of the garrison were Sudanese, and the introduction of the *pepo ya ki-nubi* is without doubt due to them. 171 776 755 535

This *jin* is a Moslem, and the preliminary ceremonies carried out to make him speak are the same as for the *pepo ya Ki-arabu*. He is not an exacting spirit, and two or three days' dancing and drumming will satisfy him. He does not require any *sadaka* to induce him to speak, but will eat ordinary food, and in the matter of raiment, any clothes will do. In fact he is a mild fellow, and is rarely the cause of any serious ailment.

On the arrival of the guests, a ring is formed in the open, the dancers facing inward with the sick person amongst them. They move round and round the circle in the opposite direction to the hands of the clock, jumping and jerking their shoulders about. The drums, consisting of three *msondo* (described in the Ki-Nyasa dance), are played in the centre of the ring, together with the *zumari* or clarionet (described in the Sherha dance). The dancing begins at 3 p.m. and goes on well into the middle of the night. This is repeated for two or three days.

The last dance continues right through the night to the next morning, when the dancers disperse. As the dance is just about to break up, the sick person makes a rush to a cauldron placed a few paces away from the dancing ring, and filled with water. He plunges his head and shoulders into the water, and the *fundi* and several muscular friends hold his head under water until he begins to struggle from loss of breath. They let him struggle for a minute or so, and then release him.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

171 776 755 635 Instantly he makes a dash back to the dancing ring and prostrates himself on the ground near the drums, probably from exhaustion. But he is not given much time to consider what ails him, for he is closely followed by the *fundi* armed with a *bakora* or cane, who rouses him with a smart cut across the shoulders. The patient jumps up in fear of receiving another blow of the *bakora* and is surprised to find himself quite cured. He returns home to sleep off his fatigue.

Some names of *pepo ya ki-nubi* are Fatuma wa Abdalla, Abdeh wa Hamdeh, Tai wa Yusuf, Saida wa Abana.

There are no *fundis* of *pepo ya ki-nubi* at Malindi, and it is doubtful if any remain at Takaungu.

PEPO YA KI-SOMALI.

776 535 755 This *pepo* being a Moslem, the preliminary ceremonies are exactly the same as those which take place in connection with the *pepo ya ki-arabu*.

The dancing is also similar to that of the Arab *pepo*, but is much more rapid.

When the sick man is able to get up and dance he puts on Somali clothes instead of Arab clothes. He also flourishes two small flags with sacred words on them. If he rides a bull on the last day of the dance, he flourishes a spear instead of a sword as the Arab *pepo* does.

[534] The drums used are the *tari* (described in the Chama dance), and they are beaten in very quick time.

The names of the Somali *pepo* are the same as modern names common to Somalis.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-arabu* dance.

PEPO NG'OMBE.

776 755 This *pepo* is said to make the unfortunate person who gets it low like a cow. It is considered a dangerous *pepo*, and many people do not get rid of it without paralysis of some of their limbs or of one whole side of the body.

The procedure followed to make the *pepo* speak is the same as that in cases of *pepo ya ki-galla*, that is to say the Turkish bath.

The *pepo ng'ombe* speaks Swahili, but in a hesitating manner, and interlarded with bovine noises. Grass must be cut and brought in to him to eat. If no grass is given he will try to get out of the house to go and graze. Water must be given to him to drink in a bucket or other large receptacle, into which he puts his face and drinks like a cow. Some of the water must be thrown over the body of the patient, for, if this is not done, rigidity of the limbs is believed to set in.

If the patient's mouth begins to twist to one side, the case is considered to have entered a very serious phase, and another Turkish bath is given. The patient is rubbed with castor oil, but no other sort of grease must be brought near him, nor any kind of perfume or scent.

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

As soon as the patient is strong enough, dark blue cotton clothes are put on him as in the manner of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*, and he then sits up, and ultimately as he gets stronger he takes part in the dancing, which is of the same style as that of the *pepo ya ki-shakini*. He also wears a *shumburere* hat and a *torosi* (described in the *pepo ya ki-shakini*), and waves a fly-switch. The dance may be protracted to three weeks, as the illness is sometimes very stubborn. A person who has once suffered from *pepo ng'ombe* can never again tolerate the sight or smell of beef, whether raw or cooked, and sometimes even faints at the sight of it.

On being questioned as to where they come from, the *pepo ngombe* state that their home is in Guran at Bwana Manolo's. There is no country known in Malindi by this name.

Some of the names of *pepo ngombe* known in Malindi are: Darsheh wa Losinga, Darsan wa Bwana Manolo, Darwesh wa Bwana Msija, Lisiji wa Mpinde, Suta wa Bwana Darwasi.

The same drums are used as in the *pepo ya ki-galla* dance.

PEPO YA PUNDA.

This is a most serious illness, the majority of cases proving fatal. The name *pepo punda* is due to the noises which the patient makes, and which may be assimilated, with a good stretch of imagination, to the braying of a donkey. There is, however, no similarity at all, the noises made by the patient being merely hollow groans of pain, for the disease is extremely painful, and from the symptoms there is no doubt whatever that the *pepo punda* is tetanus.

The patient cannot speak. No drumming or dancing is allowed. Native medicine only is given to drive out the *pepo*. This medicine consists of a mixture of the following ingredients: *koto* (a root imported from Arabia), *udi-il-karah* (an astringent wood from Arabia), *arkisus* (a wood with a taste like pepper, from Arabia), *habbasoda* (a small seed like a cummin seed, but black, from Arabia), *khardal-filfil* (a root from Arabia with a taste like mustard), common black pepper, *yayi leusi* (a seed like blasting powder with a bitter taste, from Arabia), mustard seed, garlic, *shimari* (a seed like cummin seed), *zatari* (dried aromatic leaves imported from Arabia), also the horn or hoof of a black cow pounded up to powder. All these ingredients are boiled together and given to the unfortunate patient to drink.

A piece of hard wood scraped clean is placed between the teeth so as to allow of his being given medicine after the lower jaw has become rigid.

As soon as the spine of the sick person becomes arched, a fire is lighted in the sick room. A mixture is then made from donkey's dung, dog's excreta, garlic, *mvuje*, (asafœtida), sulphur and *sunduna* (a black kind of seaweed). All this is made into a paste by the addition of castor-oil, and lumps of it are cast on to the fire, from

12: Skene G,B-4 (no date) 1917 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

which then emanates acrid smoke with an appalling smell. This is supposed to relieve the patient.

Natives do not know the origin of the *pepo punda*, and are extremely afraid of it. Happily it is not very frequent in Malindi.

NOTE.—The description of the above dances has been compiled by a civil officer of experience who has a thorough knowledge of Swahili. Many of the dances have undoubtedly been brought from Arabia by the Muscat Arabs, others were probably brought in by the Nabahans and the Vumba chiefs who came from Shiraz in Persia about A.D. 1100. The hypnotic seizures described in some of the ceremonies are well known in Africa, particularly among the Akamba people; the phenomena would well repay investigation by a medical psychologist.—C. W. HOBLEY. Mombasa.

NOTES BY A. WERNER.

p. 415, l. 33.—This, or some similar event, followed by faction-fighting, has been celebrated by Muhamadi bin Abubakari Kijuma, of Lamu, in a poem called *Utendi wa Mkonumbi*.

p. 419.—The Kinyago. This (called *unyago* by the Yaos and *chinyao* by the Anyanja) takes place at the initiation of young people in Nyasaland. For particulars, see Rattray, *Some Folklore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja*, pp. 178, 179.

p. 420.—A list of *pepo*, with the appropriate exorcisms, songs, etc., as used in the Mrima region (the mainland opposite Zanzibar) is given in Velten's *Desturi za Waswahili*, pp. 149–167. The Arab *zar*, described for Mecca by Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka* (The Hague, 1889), vol. ii, pp. 124–128), belongs to the same category.

p. 426.—The Wasanye in the Malindi district all speak Galla, but they say their old language is still spoken by the Waboni in the Witu territory.

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 539

13: Huzayyin N-4 (1936) 1937 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Egyptian University Scientific Expedition to South-West Arabia

By Dr. S. A. Huzayyin

P. 513 (A)

121 BETWEEN April and October 1936 the Egyptian University of Cairo sent out a scientific expedition to Yaman and Hadhramaut. It consisted of four members, and was intended to carry out researches in the fields of geology, physiography, archæology, anthropology and entomology. The expedition covered a distance of some 2,500 kilometres and was able to carry out intensive researches at various localities both on the High Plateau of Yaman and in the interior of Hadhramaut. The material brought back has not been studied in detail as yet; but a preliminary note can be given here.

GEOLOGY

121 133 One of the expedition's main aims was to work out certain problems connected with the geological history of the southern borders of the Red Sea. We worked at a number of points along the lines of rifting both south and west of the Yaman Plateau, where the old crystalline rocks (schists and granites) of the base were exposed under later (secondary and tertiary) sediments and lavas. The successive horizons of the tertiary traps of the High Plateau were carefully examined and specimens collected. In north-east Yaman we worked chiefly on Jurassic limestones and Nubian sandstones, and a large collection of fossils was made from the successive zones of the former. The interior of Hadhramaut was found to have a relatively simple structure and to consist mostly of Eocene limestones on earlier unfossiliferous sandstones. We hope that new evidence from the lower part of the Eocene may throw useful light on the date of the trap volcanic series of tertiaries in south-west Arabia.

PHYSIOGRAPHY

133 Pleistocene geology proved to be quite interesting. We worked chiefly on the middle parts of the valleys, which were relatively independent of changes in base (sea) level. Two physiographic cycles were established, the first being by far the more pronounced. Valleys with sloping sides were first cut and then filled with coarse gravels which now rise (usually in two or more terraces) to some 30 m. above the beds of the streams. During this stage there was a good deal of lateral wash and erosion in the middle parts of the valleys, and this erosion was probably responsible for the sloping sides of the V-shaped valleys. The gravels were examined at a large number of exposures, but unfortunately they produced only one or two specimens of pre-Chellean appearance.

The second physiographic cycle was associated first with the cutting of new steep-sided valleys *emboîtées* in the older gravels, and then with the filling in of these new valleys with soft sediments of silt. Deposition was much more regular and there was very little lateral wash in the middle parts of the new valley-beds. The discharge during the depositional phase of the second cycle was much less than that during the depositional phase of the first cycle, as only

MM1 144

Africa. Already interesting links are being worked out with Iran and the west Deccan. Local differences have also been worked out within both Yaman and Hadhramaut. The population of the northern part of the Yaman plateau is essentially mesocephalic, though it also shows certain features due to mixture. South Yaman, on the other hand, has broader heads. There is also a number of Jewish colonies in Yaman from whom representative groups were measured. In Hadhramaut we have a markedly brachycephalic type (very dominant, especially in the interior) and a mesocephalic one (especially on the coast). The broad heads of Hadhramaut show interesting anthropometrical features, and the roundness of their heads is primarily due to shortness (flattening of the back) rather than to width. Armenoid affinities among the broad heads of south Arabia are already known from previous observation and measurements (Bertram Thomas, etc.). The High Plateau of Yaman is practically free from prognathism, which becomes more and more marked as we go eastwards into Hadhramaut. We have reason to believe that this feature was not the result of crossing with Negroids from Africa, but represents an element brought from farther East. Special attention, however, has been paid to cases and areas of metisation between Negroid and Arab types, especially in coastal regions. Some peoples of the coastal plains of west Yaman have been shown to have marked affinities with the Negroids of Africa, who, however, do not seem to have affected the High Plateau to any appreciable extent. Certain parts of the Hadhramaut coast are equally mixed, and even in the interior there are colonies of imported elements (for example, Negro soldier-slaves, Indo-Chinese and Chinese elements as slaves and wives brought back by enterprising merchants of Hadhramaut, etc.).

Entomology

136

Between five and six thousand specimens have been collected, and a large number of these were actually set in the field. They represent fauna from all the altitudes we have passed through (from sea-level to 3,500 m.). The identification of our specimens will inevitably be a long process, but it is hoped that fresh light may be thrown on the question of migration between adjacent parts of Africa and Asia in these regions. One of the chief topics we worked upon was the question of locust breeding-grounds and migrations, and already some useful results have been achieved in this direction.

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In addition to these topics, members of the expedition carried out side-line investigations, such as the taking of a meteorological record during the journey (with as few breaks as possible), the collection of plants and small animals in localities which have not been visited before and of fishes and aquatic fauna from all streams and springs along the way, as well as the recording of observations on the general geography and ethnography of the lands and peoples in the areas visited.

* Should there be any chance of such a separation, however, the only possibility would be that at a posterior date pecoy tribes took shelter among the Sabaito-Himyarite ruins and left their obsidian industry thoroughly mixed with earlier remains. In that case the lithic industry would be still more recent than the Sabaan phase. There can be no possibility of the Sabaito-Himyarites having chosen for sites of their cities places where earlier obsidian and flint-using tribes left their kitchen midden and rubbish heaps.

p. 514(B)

133 soft silt could be carried to the middle courses of the streams. The two cycles were separated by a phase which was marked by extensive volcanic activity, especially in north-east Yaman, where the lava spreads always cover the old gravels and underlie the silts. The second cycle was followed by erosion, during which new torrential beds were cut into the silts (sometimes producing a series of erosional terraces). There has also been a still more recent (historical) outburst of volcanic activity (on a much more limited scale), the accompanying features of which are still noticeable in hot springs, etc.

We were able to associate the two physiographic cycles (or at least their depositional phases) with pluvial episodes. During Quaternary times this corner of Arabia seems to have had two major Pluvials separated by an Interpluvial. It was not possible to work out the stages of the first Pluvial, which was a prolonged one, and which must have had more than one sub-maximum (as shown by terraces); but there is presumptive evidence from one or two places that the second Pluvial may have had two sub-maxima separated by an Intrapluvial. In recent times there was a new wet phase (shown by archæological and other evidence), which we believe to have continued well into the Christian era (perhaps to the fifth century A.D.).

Archæology

172 The south-west plateau of Arabia proved to be singularly poor in prehistoric remains. Perhaps the great height (mainly above 1,500 m.) and the unfavourable climatic conditions during pluvial episodes contributed to this. It is to be recalled that very few remains have thus far been found at the high altitudes (above 6,000 ft.) of the opposite coasts of East Africa. We have carefully examined gravel exposures and have carried out experimental excavations at no fewer than fifteen caves and rock shelters in Yaman and Hadhramaut, but the results were largely negative. Surface specimens were looked for all along the route, but they were found only in very limited numbers and in particularly favourable localities; they belong typologically to Lower and Middle Palæolithic and rarely to the Upper Palæolithic. Whatever may have been the reasons, the scarcity of even surface finds shows that even if remains of prehistoric man may some day be forthcoming from this region, they will never be comparable in quantity with those from the African side. This reflects rather unfavourably on recent views put forward with regard to East Africa as a centre of cultural diffusion in Lower Palæolithic times.

Remains relating to the early historic phase of the area were, on the other hand, particularly abundant. Work and excavations at a number of places in Yaman and Hadhramaut have yielded fairly illuminating results. New light is thrown on relations between south-west Arabia on one hand and the Hellenistic East and Græco-Roman Egypt on the other, during the early centuries of the Christian era.

p. 513 (c)

172 More than a hundred new Sabaitic inscriptions were copied and photographed. At three sites in the Aden and Hadhramaut protectorate, particularly the ruins of Reiboun (near Mash-had) there is, on the other hand, contacts with East Africa. Here we found an industry of obsidian (with some flint) in definite association with pottery and with Sabaito-Himyaritic inscriptions, all found in shallow kitchen midden-like remains and amongst ruins of ancient buildings and habitations. Some of the characters were actually inscribed on the pottery both before and after baking. The obsidian industry includes practically all the types and sub-types of the so-called final Palæolithic and Neolithic cultures of East Africa—Wilton, Elmenteitan and Gumban. There are small nuclei, simple and retouched blades, truncated and notched ones, small backed knives, trapezoidal forms (in abundance), true lunates (less abundant), chisel-ended tools or *pièces écaillées* ('sinew-frayers' of Dr. L. S. B. Leakey), borers, medium-size and small burins (but not the micro-burin proper) and scrapers of various descriptions (nucleiform, round, at end of blade, etc.). Yet there can be no doubt about the Sabaito-Himyarite date of this industry in south-west Arabia (the few centuries centring round the beginning of the Christian era).

Apart from inscriptions (on stone and on pottery) there are metal elements and beads of dating value. The pottery here is much more developed and varied than in East Africa, but this is to be expected in a country with more progressive civilization. One cannot argue from the evidence we have for the separation of the obsidian industry from the rest of the datable remains which must all have belonged at least to one and the same culture phase*. If this be so, the dates assigned by Dr. Leakey and others to the so-called final Palæolithic and Neolithic industries of East Africa will have to be revised. It would be unreasonable to argue for a 'survival' into historic times of an obsidian and flint technique in south-west Arabia after it had been introduced from the African side at a final Palæolithic date. It would be rather in this latter region (East Africa), which produced no such highly progressive civilizations as we know from south-west Arabia, that we should expect such 'persistence'. Perhaps many of the Microlithic elements of industries in East Africa may ultimately prove to be of comparatively recent historic date (Christian era).

We have also discovered, at a number of rock shelters in the Middle Wadi Hadhramaut, rock drawings (both animals and men) of both naturalistic and schematic styles. The former were associated with Himyaritic inscriptions (mostly names and cartouches), while the latter were of much more recent appearance. At the base of some of the rock shelters we found a flake and blade industry of flint which we have reason to associate with the first series of drawings.

Anthropology

141 144 Anthropometrical measurements were made of 1,350 male individuals, of whom 800 were studied in Yaman and 550 in Hadhramaut. More than 400 individuals were photographed full face and profile. The individuals are representative of the great majority of the tribes inhabiting the area, and useful light may be expected to be shed both on local distribution of anthropological features and types and on similarities and connexions with neighbouring areas in Asia and

p. 514(A)